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~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF NATIONAL ESTIMATES

26 February 1952

SUBJECT: TERMS OF REFERENCE: SE-23: PROSPECTS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EFFECTIVE MIDDLE EAST COMMAND ORGANIZATION*
(Revised draft for Board consideration)

THE PROBLEM

To analyze the major factors affecting the formation of an effective MEC and to estimate the probable future developments in connection therewith.

SCOPE

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The paper will fall into three broad categories designed to:

(a) summarize briefly the development of the MEC concept; (b) analyze the major factors affecting the formation of an effective MEC; and (c), in the light of the discussion in (a) and (b), estimate probable future developments connected with the MEC.

* While the Western powers and Turkey might by themselves establish an MEC with limited effectiveness, "an effective Middle East Command organization" is herein defined as one which obtains the active cooperation of most of the other Middle Eastern countries.

In the latter section consideration will be given to the problems raised by possible British unwillingness significantly to alter established policies in the area and to the probable effects of allocating token US forces to the MEC.

QUESTIONS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

I. A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEC CONCEPT.

A. What is the MEC concept?

1. What were the main provisions of the 4-power communication to Egypt of 13 October 1951?
2. What were the main provisions of the 10 November statement of principles sent to the other Arab states and Israel?

B. Who are the sponsors of the MEC concept?

1. What are their objectives?
2. To what extent do their views on the MEC differ?

C. What has been the reaction to the MEC in the area?

1. Egypt?
2. The other Arab states?
3. Israel?

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III. WHAT MAJOR FACTORS, BOTH FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE, MAY AFFECT THE FORMATION OF AN EFFECTIVE MEC ORGANIZATION?

- A. To what extent does sentiment in the area with respect to the British affect the formation of the MEC?
1. To what extent do the following aspects of the UK's position in the Middle East affect MEC developments:
 - a. British treaty rights, occupation policies, arms assistance policies?
 - b. British economic and financial relations with the ME states?
 - c. Political influence exerted through British individuals in key positions?
 - d. Territorial disputes?
 - e. Historical and psychological factors?
 2. Which of these factors are of particular importance in contributing to MEC developments? In what countries?
 3. Which of these factors are of particular importance in obstructing MEC developments? In what countries?
 4. What specific developments in UK-Arab relations would significantly improve prospects of the MEC?

- B. What is the effect of Arab-Israeli tension on MEC developments?
1. What are the fundamental causes of this tension?
 2. To what extent do the following situations contribute directly to Arab-Israeli tension at present?
 - a. Border incidents?
 - b. Arab refugees?
 - c. Jewish immigration?
 3. How does this tension affect MEC developments? How important are the following considerations:
 - a. Arab conviction that the US is supporting Israel at the Arabs' expense?
 - b. Arab fear that the MEC is a Western attempt to force the Arabs to modify their attitude toward Israel?
 - c. Arab hope that through the MEC the strength of Arab forces vis-a-vis Israel will increase?
 - d. Israeli fear that Arab military forces will be built up?
 4. What are the prospects for a reduction (or increase) of Arab-Israeli tensions?
 - a. As a result of developments in the area?
 - b. As a result of present or contemplated US courses of action?

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C. What other major factors are affecting MEC developments?

1. To what extent does neutralism inhibit MEC developments?
 - a. To what extent is this neutralism the result of anti-Western feeling? Might it be expected to remain strong even if relations between the Western powers and the Middle East countries improved significantly?
 - b. To what extent is this neutralism caused by the conviction in the Middle East that the West is incapable of defending the area against Soviet aggression?
2. How does the attitude of the Middle East countries toward the USSR affect their attitude toward the MEC?
3. To what extent do the Arab countries fear that the MEC is designed to strengthen Western influence in the ME?
 - a. Are they disturbed by the possibility of the Western powers acting as a coordinated bloc in dealings with the Middle East countries?
 - b. Are they disturbed by the possibility of the Western powers adopting policies designed to re-establish spheres of influence in the Middle East?

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- [REDACTED]
4. To what extent does the desire of the Middle East countries for Western military and economic assistance affect their attitude toward the MEC?
 5. How do the Middle East countries view the participation in the MEC of:
 - a. The US?
 - b. France?
 - c. Turkey?
 - d. Australia, New Zealand, South Africa?
 6. What is the likelihood of the future participation in the MEC of other Middle Eastern countries, such as Iran and Pakistan?
 7. To what extent do rivalries among the Arab states affect their attitude toward the MEC?

III. IN VIEW OF THE FACTORS IN I AND II WHAT ARE THE PROSPECTS OF THE MEC DURING 1952?

- A. What is the likelihood of a solution of the UK-Egyptian issue that would be consistent with the MEC principles?
 1. What aspects of the MEC concept are likely to be resisted by the Egyptians in the negotiations?
 2. What would be the effect on the negotiations of a US offer to station token forces in Egypt (or anywhere else in the ME?)

- [REDACTED]
3. What problems might be raised by British unwillingness significantly to alter established policies?
- B. How could the MEC organization be expected to develop in the event of a solution of the UK-Egyptian controversy?
1. What would be the attitude of the other Arab states toward the MEC?
 2. How would Israel react?
 3. What further difficulties could be expected?
- C. How could the MEC organization be expected to develop in the event of a failure of the UK and Egypt to reach a settlement of the defense and Sudan issues?
1. What would be the attitude of the other Arab states toward the MEC?
 2. How would Israel react?
 3. What further difficulties could be expected?
- D. Assuming some progress in the formation of an MEC organization what forces are likely in peacetime to be allocated to it from the following countries?
1. The Western powers, including Turkey?
 2. Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa?
 3. The Arab states?
 4. Israel?